1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversifications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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Supplementary Crops
(Subsistence and Commercial):

Pineapple (Abacaxi)	168	hectares
Rice (Arroz)	61	"
Tomatoes (Tomate)	46	"
White Potatoes (Batata inglêsa)	44	"
Cotton (Algodão)	40	"
Onions (Cebola)	14	"
Garlic (Alho)	5	"
Green or Snap Beans (Fava)	4	"

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311 On the basis of the above figures, the total cultivated land in the Recôncavo in 1948 was about 80,000 hectares. In addition to the above,
245 there are a number of tree crops, not cultivated in the true sense, which are important in the agricultural complex. More often than not these "crops" are of spontaneous origin.

[192]

African Oil Palm (Dendê)
Mango (Manga)
Jack Fruit (Jaca)
Cashew (Caju)
Bread Fruit (Fruta de pão)

231 The following animals are important in the livestock economy of the Recôncavo:

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Cattle (Bovinos)
  Cows (Vacas)
  Oxen (Bois de trabalho)
Sheep (Ovinos)
Goats (Caprinos)
Swine (Suinos)
Donkeys (Asininos or Burros)
Mules (Muares)
Horses (Equinos or Cavalos)

These animals will be discussed in the chapter on animal industry (Chapter VII).

244 Manioc. Manioc was one of the most important cultivated plants which the Portuguese colonists borrowed from the Indians of Brazil.
[175] Flour made from the manioc root, farinha de mandioca, was the basic
262 subsistence food of the colonial sugar economy and remains today the
[178] principal element of the diet of much of the Brazilian lower class.
[565] Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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B 244 433 Manioc production is most notable along the coast of Brazil, from the mouth of the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul, but it has considerable importance in the interior of the eastern half of the country.[4] The tonnage of manioc production in Brazil is exceeded only by that of sugar cane--thus manioc is produced in greater quantity than corn, beans, or rice, the other basic subsistence crops. However, the total value of manioc production is less than that of coffee, cotton, corn, or rice. In the Recôncavo the cultivated area of manioc, over BB 244 311 433 262 22,000 hectares, exceeds that of any other crop, and the value of its production is second only to tobacco. It is usually grown as a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are a few areas of surplus production.

NB BB 244 252 262 Mandioca--manioc, cassava, or yuca--is a stem-propagated perennial which is tolerant of a variety of edaphic, climatic, and cultural conditions. The rootstock of the bitter variety--Manihot utilissima, or M. esculenta--which is most common in Bahia, contains a poisonous substance--manihotoxine--which must be removed before it can be used as human food. In the Northeast the roots almost universally are converted in crude mills into farinha de mandioca, a coarse flour which is eaten in either a raw or cooked state.[5] Sweet manioc (manihot api, in Brazil called aipim) is cultivated on a small scale. The rootstock of this variety may be eaten without extensive processing and is prepared, like the white potato, by boiling.

BB 244 252 433 The cultivation of manioc is a widespread feature of the cultural landscape of east-central Bahia, overshadowed only by the low and scrubby second growth, capoeira, which follows the intensive cultivation of this plant under a system of land rotation. Manioc cultivation and the processing of its roots are the most characteristic pursuits of the rural people--and often the most primitive.

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Like manioc and tobacco, corn is an indigenous crop which was borrowed from the Indians in the early phases of European settlement and which became a basic subsistence crop in Brazil. Its cultivation, like manioc, is a characteristic feature of the agricultural landscape over an extensive coastal belt from the Amazon to Rio Grande do Sul and, unlike manioc, beyond into northern Argentina. In Brazil, corn is cultivated on more land than any other crop, and in most states it is either the second or third crop in value. In the Recôncavo it is the fourth ranking crop in area of cultivation, but only the seventh in the total value of production. The cultivation of corn is very closely associated, areally and functionally, with beans--"succatosh" is a common crop combination in the Northwestern Recôncavo and the adjoining region.[22]

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Corn also resembles manioc in the purpose of cultivation; it is primarily a subsistence crop for local consumption, but there are surplus producing areas with a rudimentary commercial corn economy. In those areas of the Recôncavo where corn is produced in small quantities, it is almost exclusively a minor subsistence crop which is eaten by the cultivator and his family, though a few ears or a small sack of shelled corn may be sold in the market for local consumption. Such semi-subsistence producers are usually small-scale farmers, squatters, or share-croppers. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo, where cultivation of corn is more intensive, there are occasional large-scale corn growers, but the bulk of the area and production in this zone belongs to small operators. Even these small producers usually sell their corn at the market--it is exchanged for the cheaper farinha de mandioca. In the Recôncavo corn is used exclusively as a human food, and there is no corn-livestock complex.

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Only three municípios of the Recôncavo, all very large, had over 500 hectares of corn in 1948 or produced over 500 tons of shelled corn.

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243 311 It is primarily a crop of the sertão of northeastern Bahia, but it has intruded upon the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo (Map 37). In three municípios--Irará, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estevão--corn is the most extensively cultivated crop. Conversely, it is rarely seen in the humid lowlands and in the Southwestern Recôncavo. In these areas it is found only in very small, widely scattered plantings.

243 433 The mean yield of corn in the Recôncavo was 1.09 tons per hectare, compared to 1.27 for Brazil, 2.46 for the United States, 1.0 for the Belgian Congo, and .81 for Java and Madura. The accompanying map of corn yields shows a somewhat random pattern within the Recôncavo, since the total area and production were very small and local circumstances of cultivation highly variable (Map 38). However, the area of main production northwest of the Recôncavo had a relatively high yield--over 1.5 tons per hectare. In this area, corn, with beans, pre-empts the areas with the most productive soils and the greatest precipitation.

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244 Beans. Feijão, or the common field bean (Phaseolus vulgaris), like manioc, tobacco, and corn, is an indigenous domesticate which became an important subsistence crop during the colonial period. Like corn, beans are more specifically associated with the dry sertão than with the Recôncavo. Most of the beans grown in Bahia are the black variety, feijão preto; the beans are dried and used with charque (dried beef) in a soup which is one of the basic subsistence foods of the Northeast. Beans of this and other similar varieties of the same species are grown throughout Brazil.

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244 433 In area and in quantity of production, beans are slightly less important than corn in the Recôncavo, but the value of the bean crop is almost double that of corn. The patterns of distribution of these two crops are almost identical, and the physical and cultural factors

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 The bananas of the Recôncavo include a number of types--large, medium and small eating varieties, and plantains--which are grown in most sections and which may be encountered in village and urban markets in all seasons. Cultivation is a haphazard enterprise in which the reproduction of bananas frequently is accidental rather than deliberate. Since there is so much semi-spontaneous cultivation concealed in gardens and second growth and thus probably not enumerated and since the spacing of the plants is so variable, area data for bananas in the [311] Recôncavo have little meaning. The official data for 1948 indicated that [433] there were 1,069 hectares planted in the region, producing an estimated 1,859 bunches.[25]

245 Banana plants are seen in all settlements of the Recôncavo, and 311 except in the drier caatinga zone of the Northwestern Recôncavo, scattered over the countryside (Map 51). The chief area of production is in the Southwest, where they are grown almost exclusively for the local market (Map 52). However, there is a concentration of banana production [505] around the fringes of Salvador[26] and along the margins of the Bay and [438] the estuary of the Paraguaçu, where sailing craft (saveiros) can conveniently pick up shipments for the large urban market.

245 In 1948 bananas had their greatest relative importance, as deter- 311 mined by the per cent of the total cropland which they occupied, 433 around and in the city of Salvador, on the island of Itaparica, and around the city of Alagoinhas. The mean yield of bananas in the Recôncavo was 1,730 bunches per hectare, or an estimated 13,840 kilograms per hectare (Map 53)--lower than the 28,900 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, but much higher than the 9,900 kilograms for French West Africa and the 4,400 kilograms for the Philippines.[27]

245 It should be emphasized that the banana in Bahia is a relatively 262 cheap and common subsistence food, eaten raw or cooked. This is not to

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say that it is within the reach of all, for there are many who subsist virtually on farinha de mandioca (manioc flour) and a few beans.

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Coffee. Coffee is not as venerable a crop in Bahia, or in Brazil, as either sugar cane or tobacco; nevertheless, it is one of the traditional major crops. Bahia is by no means an outstanding producer within Brazil, for the main centers of production are in the Central-South--Paraná, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo.

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Although Bahia as a whole has an exportable surplus of coffee, the Recôncavo crop is primarily, if not exclusively, for local consumption. Indeed, if the per capita coffee consumption of the Recôncavo is equal to that of the state, a reasonable assumption, the region as a whole produces only about one-sixth or one-seventh of its coffee needs. Under these circumstances, coffee is used, except in a few areas, in the same município in which it is grown.

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In 1948 only four municípios in the Recôncavo had 400 hectares or more in coffee or produced over 100,000 kilograms of coffee beans (Maps 54 and 55). The chief coffee município was São Filipe, which led in acreage and in production.[28] For all practical purposes, coffee production is limited to the south side of the Rio Paraguaçu.

Coffee production in Bahia is closely associated with the more humid section of the crystalline zone, and especially the area southwest of the Recôncavo where there are low, rugged mountains and consequently areas of greater elevation and precipitation. This "coffee zone" is extended into the Recôncavo along the rougher, more humid edge of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills, i.e., in São Filipe and São Felix.

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Only 4 per cent of the cropland of the Recôncavo as a whole was in coffee in 1948, but in São Félix and northern São Filipe the

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

245 438 [491] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious [242] statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization [443] in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes [489] most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is [134] pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

243 244 [134] either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco cultivation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope land large, the capoeira is extensive and frequently quite tall. After the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted [221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone. The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough [527] [862] so that it will ripen in time for São João (mid-summer day) festival for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest [251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean harvest.

243 244 249 311 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual properties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 The Cultivation of Sugar Cane. In distinction to the crops discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernambuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

226 43 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangó and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built afound an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 241 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage.

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down.

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

quently one girl in the family does not marry but remains home with her parents, taking care of them until they have passed away. Unless the father has made specific arrangements for her before his death, the family usually sees to it that she is cared for properly, since she has relieved them of the responsibility of taking care of their parents for many years. Or, if any member of the family lingers beyond what might be considered to be a normal life span, the other members help in some way so that person will be cared for. Thus no one is left out because of misfortune of any kind. Nevertheless, any individual member always tries not to become a burden on the family. 565* 596 589 73

Of the former patriarchalism of Class A families only vestiges remain, which however are still important: the continued close relationship of family members, even though separated by distance and interests; the intermarriage of cousins, and the strong pattern of life em família; the fact that the family as a unit still provides care and protection for those members who are incapable of doing so themselves; and finally the acknowledgment of an extended-family head, a man accorded deference and respect by members of his own family as well as by other families. The upper-class family of today differs in significant ways from that of former centuries, especially in the increasing emphasis placed upon the conjugal family and the decrease in family size. A major departure from the old family traditions is the increasing equality of women, their increased participation both in home activities and in activities outside the home. 565* 596 178 [562]

Birthdays are the most important occasions in these families aside from weddings. Whether in the city or on the plantation, birthdays are commemorated on a large scale by an almoço (luncheon). During the summer in the country the planters sometimes also have a series of luncheons, each Sunday on a different plantation. In such cases the house in which the luncheon is to be held provides the bulk of the food, but as a rule all the women make desserts which they bring with them. The menu, in accordance with old Bahian tradition, is huge, usually beginning with a feijoada (a deep dish of beans and meat, usually eaten with rice or farina), sarapatel (a highly seasoned dish of which the basis is pork blood), moqueca de camarão (a type of shrimp ragout made with dendê palm oil), and ensopado de porco (pork stew). These are followed by roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey, and filet mignon. 565* 596 527 565* 596 527 262

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

2: Hutchinson E-4,8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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[114] plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations.
The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

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[125] In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

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[161] Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire county (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are
[127] shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

883
584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become
[836] public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a
[263] secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper
[843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion
574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends
252 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook.
● 262 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and
[476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the
[273] farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time
[251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there
*565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never
574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the
535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and gui-
[369] tars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even
888 godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a
736 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

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197 teenth. Tapa and Haussá were spoken during the entire nineteenth century, and the latter perhaps long before 1800. Although the Haussás were relatively few in number, their influence was considerable. The slave revolts of the early nineteenth century were, as we have seen, led by this reputedly "most intellectual element" among the imported Africans, many of whom could read and write Arabic characters. Kanúri, spoken in Bahia by the Bornús, and Grúnce, the tongue used by the slaves known as Gallinhas, are included, along with Haussá, Gêge, and Tapa, in the limited vocabularies which Rodrigues collected from Bahian Negroes near the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] Tshi (or Odji), Gá (or Acrá),[12] and Mandê (or Mandinga) were also employed to a limited extent.

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[291] As late as 1900, Negro laborers in Bahia continued to wear "white vestments of coarse cotton cloth," which reminded Rodrigues of "the Nagô *camisús.*"[13] The *Bahiana* costume,[14] of partial African origin, was extensively used by
[854] the Negro women. It was also customary for them to carry
[262] their babies bound to the back with a large cloth. African dishes, in the preparation of which *azeite de dendê* (oil of the *dendê* palm) and *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the West Coast) prominently figured, formed a considerable portion of the Negro diet.

[533] At that time, also, African music might be frequently
[534] heard, particularly in the ceremonies of the *candomblé.*
[794] African musical instruments, like the *atabaque*, the *agê*, the *canzá*, the *marimba*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, and the *xáque-xáque*[15] were commonly employed. The fetish cult drew allegiance from numerous and zealous devotees.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 217–21.

[12] Spoken in Bahia by the Ashantis. [13] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

[14] The *Bahiana* costume is described in detail in chap. ix.

[15] These instruments are described in chap. ix.

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molho de ferrugem."[107] From her and from the *mucama* (maid), as much as, if not more than, from his father and mother, the white child learned to speak. And almost without exception, he was given a *muleque companheiro de brinquedo*, a little Negro slave of his own age and sex, to be his playmate and his almost constant companion.[108] José Verissimo says that during slavery there was "no house which did not have one or more *muleques*, one or more *corumins*, little victims consecrated to the caprices of *nhônhô:*[109] his horse, his *leva-pancada*, his servant, his companion, his friend."[110] In 1821 Mathison saw on an estate near Rio "a number of fine Negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner . . . . like the Negroes."[111] Freyre has suggested that "very likely many a Brazilian child took for his first hero, not a white physician, nor a navy official or a lawyer, but a slave acrobat who knew how to execute the difficult pirouettes of the impromptu circuses and of the *bumbas meu bois*[112] of the *engenhos;* or a Negro player of the trombone or the flute."[113] Under these conditions it is not surprising that

[107] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 247. *Pirão* is made of manioc meal and meat broth; *molho de ferrugem* is oil of the *dendê* palm.

[108] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[109] Slave rendering of *menino* (male child).

[110] *A educação nacional* (Rio, 1906), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 248. A *leva-pancada* is one who "takes the beatings."

[111] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

[112] The *bumba meu boi* is still to be seen in the Bahian interior. It is a folk drama in which a man dressed to represent an ox plays a prominent role (see Arthur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* [Rio, 1934], pp. 259–68; see also his *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* [Rio, 1935], pp. 103–14).

[113] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

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Ohum Eniadúdú[19]
Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatús
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

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[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legenda from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]).

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[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

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[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatú.

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[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Bahia," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179-82.

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Although the Bahian upper classes, owing to their Negro cooks, are not unacquainted with those dishes of African origin so commonly eaten in the homes of lower-class blacks, one does not ordinarily find on their tables African delicacies like *abará*, *aberém*, *acassá*, *acaragé*, *arroz de Aussá*, *bôbó de inhame*, *carurú*, *efó*, *xin-xin*, etc., each of which is seasoned according to recipes handed down from African forebears who also extensively made use of African seasonings like *azeite de dendê*, *ataré*, *irú*, *pejerecum*, *iêrê*, and *egussi*.[18] The eating habits of the upper classes are, in general, European in origin. But the poorer inhabitants extensively utilize banana leaves for plates and for packaging foods and replace forks with fingers as eating accessories.

The music and dances enjoyed by large numbers of the darker population further distinguish this portion of the Bahian community. For instance, the *samba*, or *samba batida*, a regional form of the old *batuque*, although it has now been taken over by the upper classes and in a modified form become not only one of the most characteristic musical forms but also one of the favorite dances of Brazil, is still enjoyed in its primitive simplicity by the Bahian lower classes. With them it is a dance in which first one and then another of the participants enters a circle, dances a shuffling step while singing, cantor-fashion, the first line of a stanza, the others responding as a chorus. A song very popular at Mar Grande on the island of Itaparica in the bay at Bahia recalls the

[18] *Azeite de dendê* is oil from the *dendê* palm; *ataré*, said to have been imported from Africa by Bahian Negroes, is a variety of pepper; *egussi* are gourd or melon pips; *iêrê* are seeds similar to those of the coriander; *irú* and *pejerecum* (or *bejerecum*) are varieties of small beans. For recipes of a number of these dishes see Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A arte culinaria na Bahia* (Bahia, 1928).

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neys, etc.[37] Oracles are invoked by way of such magical intermediaries as the *obí* and the *orobó*, or the *opélé-ifá* (a chain of thin disks), or they may be obtained directly from an *orixá* who speaks during the "possession" of a *filha* or a *pae de santo* by way of the mouth of the one "possessed."[38]

Contact between the living and the dead is believed not only to be possible but to occur regularly. Hence, the prac-

[37] The serious character of a transaction of this sort puts it in a different category from certain other magical acts, common to all classes, which have the character of a game, being similar, for example, to practices attaching to our festival of Halloween. Thus, one may take a glass, "bless" it three times, put in it the white of an egg, and, holding it over a fire, again thrice "bless" it; or partially fill a basin with water and permit the tallow from a lighted candle to drip into it; or stick a knife up to the hilt in a banana tree and leave it until morning. The patterns formed on the glass, the water, and the knife, respectively, are presumed to indicate the initials of one's future spouse. A similar image is presumed to appear in the dreams of one under whose pillow has been left a freshly husked ear of corn.

[38] Other magical practices of this sort are: the placing of crushed charcoal under a rock to expedite the recovery of a lost article, the burying of the third of a rosary to stop rain; also, it is commonly believed that a hummingbird inside the house, or the singing of an *adivem-querem*, announces the coming of guests; that the appearance of an owl, or of an *ouriço cacheiro*, foretells death; that a black butterfly is a sign of misfortune; that a katydid with dark eyes brings unpleasant news, while one with light eyes brings favorable news; that seeing the new moon for the first time between the branches of a tree or anywhere partially obscured is a sign of misfortune throughout the coming month; that the showing of money to the new moon when seen for the first time will assure no want of income for the next thirty days; that ill fortune will attend one who dwells in a house on the corner of a street, enters a house with the right foot, or opens an umbrella inside a house. Still other "signs" of misfortune are: the toad; the black cat (or the "ghost" of a cat); the *anum* perched in a tree near the house; the *jacumim;* the hummingbird, if black; the katydid, if it has a black mouth (if the katydid has a red mouth, happiness is in store for the observer). In the opinion of numerous people, mutton must not be eaten, since it is "the *lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." Sheep are animals which Christians must not eat.

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

[513]

There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

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I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

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When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

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White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

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while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[1] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obí* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yauô* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[1] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

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front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberém*, *caruru*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term applied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen, the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

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